6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

could express real views and present facts have been touched upon throughout this study. Because of censorship contemporary published sources present comparatively little material of direct political relevance. They do, however, present valuable information on the closely related topics of religious, cultural, and economic activity. Moreover, they describe the overt activities of individuals in specific places at specific times; it is often possible to check such facts in postwar descriptions of covert political activities against the framework obtained from contemporary sources. The extent to which facts cited by the postwar informant conform to the contemporary sources permits one to make a partial evaluation of the reliability of the informant. Contemporary Soviet sources on nationalist activities are much sparser, but for some events they provide valuable information which shifts in Soviet policy have caused to be deleted from postwar publications.

Important as are the contemporary sources, a rounded picture of the wartime nationalist movements could not have been obtained without the aid of unpublished accounts of the participants. Some of these are in the form of manuscripts made available to the author of this study, but most were obtained through oral interviews. For reasons which should be clear to the reader of this study, it has been necessary to preserve the anonymity of the informants. The code system adopted makes it possible for the author to determine the source of each statement, however, and in many cases it will be possible for him to suggest persons whom an inquirer might approach for further information on a given topic.

The interviews were conducted during 1952–53 in Europe, Canada, and the United States. Before beginning the interviews, the author made a thorough examination of the greater part of the German documents and the published materials, contemporary and memoir. He was also fortunate enough to secure advice and information from a number of scholars who had worked on related studies of the Ukraine and of wartime Eastern Europe. These preliminary investigations enabled him to form an over-all picture of the topic. For many sections of the study, he could establish a reliable account lacking only a limited number of details. This approach was essential for the success of the interviews. Prospective informants were more inclined to furnish information when they learned that the author had acquired the background knowledge of subjects which were of intense personal interest to them. The preliminary investigation also enabled the author to determine some of the key questions, or at least to know which areas of his topic needed probing. An equally useful result of this investigation was that the knowledge acquired enabled the author to assess the validity of many statements while the informant was still available, so that dubious statements could be questioned or further information elicited.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Before the stage of interviewing was reached, however, prospective informants had to be selected and located. If a number of interviewers with ample time had been engaged in the study, it might have been desirable to interview *all* or a considerable portion of émigrés from the East Ukraine and large numbers from the West Ukraine. Such an approach might have yielded valuable information of a statistical nature. Since the émigrés are in many respects an atypical selection from the entire population, and since it is difficult if not impossible to evaluate present-day responses of a large number of interviewees on such matters as wartime attitudes, such an approach would at best have been a most delicate one. It would have been quite impossible for an individual investigator with a limited number of months at his disposal.

Under the circumstances, the only practical approach was to concentrate on interviewing persons who had had key roles in the events studied. As described above, the preliminary investigation enabled the author to determine the principal areas on which information was needed. It also enabled him in many cases to determine who had held a position which enabled him to acquire such information. The postwar Ukrainian press frequently indicated whether such persons were still alive and gave some hint concerning their present whereabouts. With this information, exact addresses could usually be obtained. Worth-while informants, whose value the author had not previously recognized, were provided directly by interested organizations and individuals. It is felt, however, that it would have been most unwise to have relied exclusively or predominantly upon such second-hand channels for obtaining a list of informants. Few persons, even among active nationalists, were familiar with all or most of the aspects of the study and were rarely acquainted with a very large proportion of the possible informants. Reliance on interested organizations and individuals for contacts would also, at least to some degree, have resulted in a slanting of the approach, since such channels consciously or unconsciously select informants sympathetic to them.

In addition to a number of Germans, Russians who had lived in the Ukraine and Ukrainians who desired continued union of the Ukraine and Russia (both categories are referred to in subsequent paragraphs as "Russophiles") were interviewed. Both Germans and Russophiles were chosen and located in a manner similar to that employed in the case of Ukrainian nationalists, although of course German and Russian individuals and organizations, rather than Ukrainian nationalist ones, usually served as intermediaries.

Because informants had been selected on the basis of their probable ability to provide information on specific aspects of the study, no generalized questionnaire was employed. Where possible a "non-directive" approach, designed to induce the interviewee to volunteer information

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

● 124 he thought important, was used during the first stage of the interview. When specific information desired was not furnished spontaneously, however, detailed questions were put, and if necessary cross-examination employed. If the initial discussion had convinced the informant that the author was engaged in an impartial effort to establish the truth, and that his investigation made it necessary for him to be detailed and persistent in his inquiries, such "detective" methods were not usually resented, although of course some informants avoided revealing desired information.

The informants were frequently busy persons who could not spare an indefinite amount of time. This was especially the case since all rendered their assistance without financial compensation. In some cases an informant could give only a half-hour to answer a few especially important questions, in others several meetings totaling many hours could be arranged.

It would be impossible to give the total number of informants, since frequently at a gathering or in an organizational office a very large number of persons were encountered who furnished a useful hint or an impression of the wartime scene. In the case of seventy-three informants, however, it was felt worth while to conduct more or less systematic interviews and to prepare summary records of the information furnished, classified under the names of the interviewees. A large majority of these records are cited by code number in the footnotes of this study; since one informant frequently furnished more than one interview, the total number of code numbers exceeds seventy-three.

Of the seventy-three informants referred to above, fourteen were former German officials who had been involved in Ukrainian affairs during the war. Of these eleven had been active in the East Ukraine (and in some cases in the West Ukraine as well, and frequently in Berlin in connection with policy toward the Ukraine); three had significant experience in the West Ukraine only. Nine Russophiles were interviewed. Two were pre-1939 émigrés who did not visit the East Ukraine during the war but were active in politics concerning it. The other seven were residents of the Soviet East Ukraine until 1941 or later. Twenty-nine of the interviewees were West Ukrainian nationalists. Of these nineteen were not active in the East Ukraine; their information concerned the background of political activity in the West Ukraine and among the emigration. The remaining ten had extensive experience in the East Ukraine during the war. Seven of the interviewees were East Ukrainian nationalists who had emigrated before 1939. Of these only one was active in the East Ukraine during the war, but the others had important information on nationalist political developments in the emigration or in the West Ukraine, and several were able, through extensive contacts, to gather much information on the wartime East Ukraine. Finally, there were fourteen East

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Ukrainian interviewees who had remained in the East Ukraine until 1941 or later. 124

Information obtained from interviews and unpublished manuscripts constitutes an essential, although not a predominant part of the material used in this study. Among the informants were a considerable proportion of the leading personalities mentioned in the text. Moreover, in a very large number of cases information could be obtained from all or several of the conflicting groups concerning events in which they participated. A special effort was made to obtain all sides of a controversial issue, when adequate published sources were not available for one or more groups of participants, and as a rule this effort was successful. It is regrettable that the names of the informants cannot be given in connection with specific items of information which they provided. In many cases, even indication of the point of view represented by the anonymous informant would have provided a clue to his identity because the number of possible witnesses is frequently very limited.

While the use of oral informants for the study of recent political situations involves the disadvantage of inability to cite sources, there are numerous compensating advantages. Subjects, like the present one, which involve widespread clandestine activities, can scarcely be analyzed unless the participants themselves furnish information. Moreover, even when a published memoir exists, it cannot be called to account for discrepancies or asked for additional information as can the living witness. Beyond these advantages, there is the intangible but very real asset of contact with the actors of the drama studied, a contact which gives the author a "feel" for the situation and insights into the psychology of his subjects which would be difficult to achieve in any other fashion.